C. G. 596 children; later, married sons with adult offspring would separate from the family even if the father was still alive. The final stage was that each married couple set up a household of its own. The original joint family survived until recently in some remote corners, particularly among the Svan and the Pshav. There C. G. 476 is a tradition of mutual aid between families with regard to tasks exceeding the forces of a single unit (agricultural tasks, vintage, house-building, tapestry-weaving, etc.). These relations obtain even between unrelated families, C. G. but often whole villages or sections of villages • 621 consisted of groups of related families (clans). Such family-settlements exist at the present time; a kolkhoz or a brigade in a kolkhoz may consist entirely of persons bearing the same family name.

C. A. 608 In the whole N. Caucasus and also in Armenia the institution of milk-relationship existed. A child suckled by a woman belonging to a certain family became related to that family, as did all its relatives, and these ties were considered as sacred as those of blood relationship. In the N. Caucasus such a relationship could also be established ritually in the case of older persons, namely by mere contact with a woman's breast; this was carried so far that even a forcible performing of this ritual could end a blood feud, as the act made the injured family and that from which "blood was sought" related "by milk." In this

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blood-relatives, and although the Ingushi are now Mohammedans they still insist on observing their ancient customary laws rather than the *šarī'a*.[52] The other Chechen tribes are likewise strict exogamists.[53]

The Lesghians however, unlike all other North Caucasians, are, or at least have been till recently, strict endogamists. In their insistance on marriages exclusively within the sib, the Lesghians differ not only from the other North Caucasians but also from the mountain tribes of SOUTH CAUCASIA: the Khevsurs,[54] the Pshavs,[55] the Tushi,[56] and the Svans.[57]

In this regard the Lesghians differ also from their non-Caucasian neighbours. Among the OSSETES even the remotest blood-relationship (usually all living in the same village and bearing the same family name)[58] impedes marriage.[59]

The neighbouring TARTAR tribes are also exogamous.[60] The KALMUCKS may indeed marry within their community but only with non-relatives.[61]

To come back to the Lesghians—the reliability of the reports about their still being strictly endogamous in the nineteenth century is unquestionable. Klaproth, despite his many literary thefts, is generally reliable. He assures us that the Dido "disregard all degrees of consanguinity."[62] L'vov[63] and Abercromby[64] observed the same custom among the Avars. The latter author writes, "With regard to degrees of consanguinity, an Avar is permitted to marry his first cousin or two sisters." Our most reliable sources are Kovalevskij and Egiasarov, on whom Kovalevskij largely depends.[65] In Kovalevskij's *Zakon i obyčaj na Kavkazě* we read that Cvětkov, a government official in Daghestan in 1869, maintained that in the Kurin Province absolutely no marriage was possible outside of one's own *tukhum* (sib). Sotnikov claims that such is the case

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[52] N. Jakovlev, *Ingusi*, (Moscow, 1925), p. 49.

[53] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne*, p. 196.

[54] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus. Seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 267.

[55] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon i Obyčaj na Kavkazě*, II, p. 142.

[56] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 196.

[57] *ibid.*

[58] When a family breaks from its sib and moves into a strange village, it gradually begins to feel closely related to its new neighbours, sometimes even more closely than to actual blood-relatives who live farther away. Such a family may even change its name and begin to call itself after the sib in whose community it now lives. The tendency of local solidarity to supplant the solidarity of the sib is noticeable throughout the Caucasus. Cf. A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den Bergvölkern des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 436, 439, 444. How soon such families would become "blood-relatives" to such a degree that intermarriage would be considered incestuous has still to be investigated by the fieldworkers.

[59] M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 196, 335.

[60] M. Kovalevskij, l. c.

[61] R. Erckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 37.

[62] *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 74.

[63] "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich Gorcev Avarskago Okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 18.

[64] *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, p. 97. Unfortunately Abercromby fails to specify whether they were only *permitted* to marry blood-relatives or actually obliged to do so.

[65] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 142; *Coutume contemp.*, l. c. Egiasarov's article is not at my disposal, hence I am relying on Kovalevskij's faithful citation of the author.

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582 in Kaitag, and of the Tabassaranians he is able to say: "Up to the present
[44] there have been no instances of anyone freely separating himself from his *tukhum*. The people are convinced that such an action would be impossible, unthinkable, certainly the most abominable disgrace imagineable." In the Province of Dargwa (according to Popov) the *tukhum* does not even have the authority to expel an illegitimate member, much less permit a fully-fledged member to separate from the others freely. Of all the provinces in South Daghestan only the adats of Tsakhur admit marriages with outsiders, but only
[41] by way of exception. Thus, according to Akhtinian and Rutulian customary law, a sib may marry one of their girls to a groom belonging to another *tukhum*, but only if the groom's sib is in danger of extinction.[66] But even in this extreme case an important *conditio sine qua non* is added: the children born of this marriage must be named not after the father's, but, strangely enough, after the mother's sib.[67]

[21] In most cases local exogamy will coincide with consanguineous exogamy, because generally the Caucasian *auls* are sib-villages, that is, inhabited by people with the same family name who consider themselves related to one another. The questions of local exogamy and cross-cousin marriages have still to be investigated by the fieldworker.

Endogamy is not a sign of primitiveness. On the contrary, it thrives where social ranks are of paramount importance.[68] But the Lesghians, as we shall soon learn (*infra*, pp. 61 ff), are virtually classless and therefore endogamy seems out of place. We cannot attribute the practice to Islamism; for Mohammedanism may indeed *permit* consanguineous mating but it does not *prescribe* it. We may therefore rightly expect to find the solution to the riddle in pre-Islamic times.

We have said that the Southern Caucasians are strict exogamists. That is true, but there has been a time when the Georgians, the neighbours of the Lesghian peoples, were endogamists.

In the Georgian chronicles of King Vakhtang, which speak of the times of Nabuchodonosor, we read (after Brosset, *Additions*, p. 31), "Les plus abominable coutumes s'introduisirent, dans les mariages, on n'avait aucun égard à la parenté, on mangeait tout ce qui a vie, on n'ensevelissait point les morts et l'on dévorait les cadavres!"[69] And according to the legend about Alexander's march into the Caucasus as found in the Georgian chronicles (after Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, p. 33): "Étant venu dans le Karthli, il trouve chez tous les Géorgiens des coutumes plus abominables que chez aucun peuple. En effet les mariages et la débauche s'y pratiquaient sans égard à la parenté, on mangeait de tout ce qui avait vie, on dévorait les cadavres."[70] Moreover, Tacitus (*Annales*, xii. 46) gives us a good example of a next-of-kin marriage in a Georgian royal family in Iberia. Moses of Chorene (iii, 20) and Faustus of

[66] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 144 f.
[67] M. Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, p. 172.
[68] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 16 f.
[69] Cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, "Über georgisches Heidentum," *Caucasica*, I (1924), p. 6.
[70] Cf. Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, 61 f.

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defend themselves against the raiders from Kabardia and the Kumykian plains. The Turlovs[A] did not affect the social organization of the Chechens very deeply. After the ruling family had been compelled to leave Chechnia, the mountaineers continued to live as classlessly as before ; each Chechen sib was a government in itself with little or no interest in the neighboring sibs.[124] In the *adat* collection of 1849 for the villages of Sunsha we read : " There is no special *adat* regarding the bride-price for princes because the inhabitants do not have any princes."[125]

(2) A perusal of any *adat* collection will convince us that *de jure* the Chechens do not have a nobility either. Thus, for example, in the collection of adats of 1844 of Vladikavkaz Province (the Dzher, Kists, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulaks) we read in § 2 : " No Chechen family has any privilege over any other family." *De facto* however there are influential families. Any family or sib may become more important than the others by manifesting extraordinary bravery or more especially by outnumbering the others.[126] Such families (or to be more exact, sibs) decide what is " wrong " and what is " right," what should be done and what should be left undone.

(3) There are actually two classes : the free and the slaves, the latter being mainly prisoners of war and captives taken in raids. Reineggs describes how in the eighteenth century the Chechens would mercilessly rob strangers and then demand a ransom. If the victim happened to be a fellow-Mohammedan, he naturally could not become a slave[127] if he failed to be ransomed, and consequently was murdered. On the other hand if the captive was a non-Muslim and was of a poor family that was unable to ransom him, he had to remain as a slave.[128] The adats distinguish between two classes of slaves, the *lai* and the *yasir*, the difference between the two being that the *yasir* could be ransomed while the *lai* could not.[129] But in spite of this difference the lot of the *lai* was not as unbearable as might seem at first sight. He was, practically speaking, more or less only a nominal slave, for, as a rule, he was declared free after some time or was *ipso facto* emancipated through marriage.[130]

The situation in Daghestan is much the same as among the Chechen tribes. On the whole the *Lesghians* are very democratic, virtually classless. Class division, wherever it existed, was not of Lesghian origin but was brought from without. It can be roughly sketched as follows.

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[124] Ladyženskij, " Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 441 ff.
N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 141.
Leontovič, II, pp. 86, 114 § 2.
Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90.
Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder etc.*, pp. 148, 153.

[125] Leontovič, II, pp. 114, § 2, 123, § 1.

[126] A. H. Günther, " Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 38. Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reisen in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 243.

[127] An Islamic prohibition. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 38.

[128] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 40.

[129] Leontovič, II, p. 80. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 432.

[130] U. Laudaev, " Primečanja k statě čečenskoe plemja," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 52. Leontovič, *l. c.* Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Byhan, *La Civilisation Caucasienne*, p. 191.

A [foreign princely family invited to be rulers of the Chechens in the eighteenth century--Analyst]

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Ca. 175 177 actions against the Turks. An Ossetin Major-General, K. Zankisov, fought in Poland against the insurgents of 1863–4 and he was by no means the only Ossetin Major-General of that epoch. Furthermore, an 'Ossetin Division' became famous in the course of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–8, when General Skobelev described its 'chivalrous gallantry' as being 'above any praise'.[12]

Ca. 177 538 Russian cultural work among the Ossetins started much earlier than among other mountain peoples. The first book to appear in the Ossetin language was printed in Moscow in 1798; its object was to serve as a kind of introduction to the study of the Bible. A long period of fruitful association with the Russians and the general peaceful approach of the Ossetins towards Russian military and political rule made them more open to the acceptance of Russian preponderance. The Ossetins were, as a matter of fact, the only people of the Northern Caucasus to produce a great writer in the person of Kosta Khetagurov (1859-1906) who was half Russianized himself and wrote in both the Ossetin and Russian languages. The Soviet régime greatly popularized Khetagurov as a symbol of Russian-Ossetin synthesis, which he undoubtedly was. He had a complete Russian education, had studied at St. Petersburg and was strongly influenced by such progressive Russian writers as Herzen and Chernishevsky, which makes him particularly acceptable from the Soviet point of view.

Ca. 423 448 474 ● 641 Until the Ossetins gave proof of their loyalty to Russia during the war the Soviet régime had had to overcome Ossetin resistance to both the establishment of collective farms and the suppression of tribal customs. During the period of the collectivization Ossetin peasants waged a sort of guerilla warfare against 'socialist property' and while outwardly accepting collectivization, tried to transform the Kolkhoz into an instrument of their respective clans. Ossetin chairmen of collective farms and officials of local Soviets seem to have acted on the principle 'I decide who is a kulak and an enemy of the State and who is not'. Thus, at least during its initial stage, collectivization in Ossetia became a downright farce. Persons belonging to a rival clan were rendered innocuous by being denounced as kulaks; real kulaks, on the other hand, were promoted to the rank of respectable Soviet citizens if they happened to belong to the clan dominating the local village council or the collective farm concerned.[13]

Ca. [725] 631 143 S.U. 563 634 All such 'incidents' were forgotten when the Ossetins redeemed their reputation by their brilliant war record. In the fighting which resulted in the dislodgement of the Germans from the approaches to the Caucasus, Ossetin partisans operating from behind the enemy lines greatly assisted the Red Army.[14] As a mark of appreciation for their loyalty, the Soviet Government allowed the Ossetins to increase substantially the territory of their national republic. A decree of April 8th, 1944, stipulated